31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Sanapia refers to all other varieties of *Juniperus* as *taiβowa:pi*, or "white man cedar." She uses the dried and pulverized root to make a decoction which is internally administered to treat menstrual complaints. However, to Sanapia, the dried and rubbed leaves of the cedar are the most important parts of the plant. She sprinkles them on live coals, which are always formed from pecan twigs, to produce a thick aromatic smoke which is inhaled by patients suffering from ghost sickness, vertigo, or severe headache. The cedar smoke is also fanned over an individual by Sanapia in her blessing ceremony, a prominent aspect of all her doctoring activities. She uses the cedar medicine smoke in any instance when she is called upon to dispel the influences of the ghosts. When she is commissioned to ritually cleanse a house in which a death has recently occurred, she employs cedar smoke as a central core in this activity. When an individual is plagued by thoughts of a deceased relative, Sanapia prescribes a fumigation of the home with cedar smoke. She also strongly urges "cedaring" of the sleeping area before retiring at night.

> Only use that red berry kind . . . get it on those slick hills west of here. They say when you use that cedar and they smell it, it blows all that bad stuff and pain away from you with that smoke. It keeps you well, and you won't ever be scared or nothing. Lot of different ways it help you like that. It's green, and its living all the time. In winter, summer, anytime. I don't care when. It's got Medicine for that. That's why I use it.

natsa"ksi

"sneezing medicine" *Helinium microcephalum* (sneezeweed)

This plant is collected in the early fall. The flowers are detached and allowed to dry. When dried, the flowers are crushed and inhaled through the nose to produce the desired violent sneezing.

Sneezing medicine is administered to patients suffering from heart "flutter," low blood pressure, and head and nasal congestion. In Sanapia's opinion, the sneezing stimulated by this medicine keeps the heart beating steadily and strongly, thus maintaining the proper blood pressure. Also, she has the notion that in old age the heart becomes loosened from the cavity in which it is supposed to be housed. The violent sneezing caused by this medicine is capable of shocking the heart back into its proper position.

For those suffering from sinus congestion or head colds, Sanapia makes a very effective "inhaler" out of a small bottle or can. The container is half filled with the sneezing medicine. The patient is directed to shake the container, remove the lid, and inhale the dust when he is suffering from head congestion. Sanapia got the idea for her inhaler from commercials for cold remedies which she has seen on television. Many of her ideas concerning the nature of head and chest congestion and especially colds stem from notions absorbed from viewing television commercials. She uses terms like "bronmicha" for "bronchial" and "simus" for "sinus." The bronmicha is everything in the chest cavity except the lungs and

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body. 753

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible. 753 751 237

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence 753 828 775 825 827 201